EXCLUSION OF EXCLUDED DALITS IN NEPAL
(A Case of Hill, Madhesi and Terai region)

Socio-economic and political condition of Dalits, not only in India but other parts of the world are still pathetic and one of the major concerned area to be discussed deeply. Most of the people from these castes are ultra poor and below the poverty line[1]. They are lagging far behind the other communities in education, health and several other sectors. Representation of these people in politics and administration is almost non-existent[2]. Paper largely discusses the socio-economic and political conditions of Dalits in Nepal, one of the largest Dalit populations in South Asia next to India. This article brings an investigation of the painful experiences about the large chunk of population facing the evils of untouchability and humiliation. As per the official statistics, the Dalits in Nepal constitute thirteen percent of the total population of the country of 23,151,423[3]. Out of the Dalit population, 36.17 are of Madheshi origin in Terai; while 58.11 are of Hill origin and the remaining 5.72 percent are Newari origin. Chamar, Dusadh, Khatwe, Tatma, Jhangar, Musahar, Bantar, Dhobi, Halkhor and Doms are the major Dalit ethnic population in the Terai, who are treated as untouchables. The majority of the Dalits in the Terai are illiterate. Illiteracy rate among the Musahar is as much as ninety six percent and it is almost nil among such caste groups as Doms and Halkhors.

As much as ninety percent of the Dalit caste groups like Doms, Halkhors, Dushadhs, Musahars, Chamars, Tatamas and Khatwes are victims of untouchability. In the rural areas of the Terai, the traditional relations existing between the Dalit and non-Dalit caste groups in matters related to untouchability is largely unchanged. As a result, the Dalits have been lagging far behind the other communities in different social sectors, which are a challenge before the government, planners, policy makers and all the stakeholders of the country[4].

Population of Caste/Ethnicity by sex[5]

	CASTE/ETHNICITY	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
Terai Dalit					
1.	Tharu	774,924	758,955	1,533,879	6.75
2.	Rajbansi	48,234	47,578	95,812	0.42
3.	Santhal/ Sattar	21,515	21,183	42,698	0.19
4.	Jhagar/ Dhagar	20,892	20,872	41,764	0.18
5.	Gangai	15,808	15,510	31,318	0.14
6.	Dhimal	9,646	9,891	19,537	0.09
7.	Tajpuriya	6,532	6,718	13,250	0.06
8.	Meche	1,830	1,933	3,763	0.02
9.	Kisan	1,382	1,494	2,876	0.01
10.	Koche	693	736	1,429	0.01
11.	Munda	357	303	660	0.00
	Sub-Total	**901,813**	**885,173**	**1,786,986**	**7.85**
Hill Dalit					
1.	Kami	432,937	463,017	895,954	3.94
2.	Damai/Dholi	188,329	201,976	390,305	1.72
3.	Sarki	153,681	165,308	318,989	1.40
4.	Gaine	2,857	3,030	5,887	0.03
	Sub-Total	**777,804**	**833,331**	**1,611,135**	**7.09**
Madhesi Dalit					
1.	Chamar/ Harijan/ Ram	138,878	130,783	269,661	1.19
2.	Dhanuk	97,507	90,643	188,150	0.83
3.	Musahar	88,041	84,393	172,434	0.76
4.	Dusadh/Paswan/Pasi	82,173	76,352	158,525	0.70
5.	Sonar	72,331	72,757	145,088	0.64
6.	Kewat	70,815	66,138	136,953	0.60
7.	Mallah	59,649	56,337	115,986	0.51
8.	Kalwar	61,221	54,385	115,606	0.51
9.	Hajam/thakur	51,617	46,552	98,169	0.43
10.	Lohar	42,270	40,367	82,637	0.36
11.	Dhobi	38,350	35,063	73,413	0.32
12.	Bantar	18,139	17,700	35,839	0.16
13.	Chidimar	6,516	5,780	12,296	0.05
14.	Dom	4,631	4,300	8,931	0.04
15.	Badi	2,152	2,290	4,442	0.02
16.	Halkhor	1,848	1,773	3,621	0.02
17.	Kuswadiya/ Patharkatta	286	266	552	0.00
	Sub-Total	**836,434**	**785,879**	**1,622,313**	**6.74**

The lack of enough of economic mobility in terms of access to economic opportunities among the different social groups is another challenge of far reaching implications in Terai region[6]. It is difficult for the Dalit youths to meet basic needs like that of clothes, education, health and housing as they receive so meager returns in terms of wages and salaries against their work. In fact, it is impossible for them to meet two squares of meals a day and live a dignified life with the wages that they receive in kinds or cash. Of course, such a situation is found with other communities too but the problem is precarious among the Dalit caste groups.

Despite the fact that the Dalit youths of the Terai work in all important sectors of the national economy such as in agriculture, industry and service sectors, they are mostly landless and paupers[7]. Only one percent of the total cultivable land in the Terai is owned by the local Dalits. According to the World Development Report 2005, the per capita income of the Nepalese people is US $ 240. However, studies confirm that the per capita income of the Dalits is unbelievably as low as US $ 40. Similarly, the people below the poverty line at the national level are 31 percent but of the Dalit population, eighty per cent are below the poverty line[8].

Many of the Dalits in the Terai are homeless because they have not been provided citizenship certificates. So virtually, there has not been any major change in their eating habits, education, health, dress and housing structure, though they constitute nearly twenty per cent of Terai population. Such status quo in the social system poses a great threat to the development of Dalit youths. This is also a challenge to the planners, policy makers and government as the democracy in Nepal cannot flourish until the lots of these youths is subject to change.

History of Caste System in Nepal

Caste is one of the most important parts of Hindu Social System (HSS). Dalits or the untouchable's communities as a whole have the lowest status in the Hindu Social Hierarchical structure. Dalits who constitute a sizeable percent of the total population of Nepal are Hindus and are discriminative against by the upper caste because of the deeply rooted beliefs fostered ironically over time by the religion itself. However, the caste system was formally abolished following the introduction of the new legal code

(Naya Mulki Ain) in 1963. Dalits across the country are still stigmatized as untouchables. People belonging to higher caste in many parts of the country still do not accept water and cooked food from them.

Dalits of Nepal as such is not homogenous group and their heterogeneity extends to language, religion and culture. They are divided into three parts first as a hill Dalits which include Kami, Damai, Sarki, Gaine and Badi, secondly Tarai Dalits which includes Tatma, Musahar, Bantar, Dushad (Paswan), Dhobi, Chamar (Ram), Chidimar, Dom, Halkhor and thirdly Newar Dalits which include Kusule, Pode, Chyame and Halahulu[9].

The origin of caste system thought to have developed in South Asia towards the end of the Vedic period. This was essentially a division of labour into four broad groups known as the Varna. It was hierarchical in nature with Brahmins at the top, engaged in philosophical and religious pursuits, Kshatriya or known as Chettri involved in military and political field, Vaishya, the businessmen and farmers, and Shudras, the lowest Varna engaged in manual labour and traditional crafts. At first, there was some mobility between the major caste divisions, but latter it becomes impossible in principles to change caste status labeled from the birth[10].

The caste system appears to have been first conceived in Nepal towards the beginning of Lichhivi period, originated as Vaishavism, this concept began to assimilate with Shyamanism (including natural religion), Shaivism. In Hindu Newar communities, the caste system has been found to exist. It reveals that the caste system is extremely complicated in this community. In the Kathmandu Valley Jayasthiti Malla established the caste system on the basis of Manusmriti. Accordingly, it was required to adopt professions, wear cloths and ornaments and construct houses in accordance with the social status of different castes. Violating these rules was liable to certain punishment. Despite the fact that castes were based on various professions, there evolved untouchability later. The state of caste discrimination and untouchability appears to be slightly different from that of Khas and Maithil communities. For instance, in Khas and Maithil communities, the untouchables are treated equally, while in Newar community they are discriminated differently; e.g. Kasais (butchers) are allowed to step up to the second storey of the houses and Chyames to the first storey, Harhurs are entirely

prohibited from entering the house. Generally, the untouchables are not allowed to go to the upper storey of the house. Butchers' milk and meat are acceptable, but eating their boiled rice is unacceptable. Eating dhobis (washer men) and Napits (barbers) boiled rice may be unacceptable.

Prior to the implementation of the civil code (1854), some Shudras in Newari community were considered untouchable. Out of them some needed the sprinkling of water while others did not. Dhobi, Kasai, Kusule and Kuloo castes belong to the first category, and Pode and Chyame castes to the second. Traditionally, butchers are called Kasais (Khadkis). They play a musical instrument, called Naykhin, in funeral procession as well as at the different festivals in the Kathmandu valley. During the Rana regime Lakhe dance and Kasais Paltan performed at Gaijatra and Indrajatra were extremely popular. Even in Royal Army's music band, those who played Badshahi musical instrument included Kasais as well. Now, their professions have undergone expansion with the changing situation. They have not only confined themselves to the sale of meat and vegetables but also gradually taken to many other professions. As they have been long engaged in trade and business, their economic condition can be considered better than that of other untouchables, Kusules have been playing Panchabaja since the ancient times as a good sign at temples and on auspicious occasions like marriage and bratbandh (thread-wearing ceremony). Their presence is deemed necessary on an auspicious occasion. They have also been engaged in tailoring. Besides, they have also been making musical instruments like Maadal and Khinma. They have been found much skilled at playing and selling Tal Bajas (type of drums). Podes and Chyames are found settled in Kathmandu, Bhaktapur and Lalitpur. The localities they live in called Pode Tole (settlement) and introduce themselves as Deulas. They have been traditionally involved in cleaning garbage. Nowadays they are also known as sweepers. In more polite terms they are called cleaning labourers. The community engaged in shaving hair and cutting nails are called Napit (Barbers). Similarly, the persons whose profession is laundry are called Dhobis (washermen). In Kathmandu they are mainly settled at Dhobichaur and Dhobidhara. In Lalitpur their main settlement is at Dhobighat. Recently, large laundries are run by others while Dhobis own small laundries only. The lowest of the Newar untouchables are Harhures (baseless). Their ancestry is unknown. They live

on begging. Their population has been found marginal. They are often seen begging on occasions like Gathemangal. In Khas community settled outside the Kathmandu valley, Kasai, Napit, Kapali and other Newar untouchable castes are treated as touchable.

Caste categories diverged from the four Varnas of the classical Vedic model and instead had three categories to accommodate the tribal peoples between the pure and impure castes. These were further classified into five hierarchies with the following order precedence[11].

1. Thagadhari, (Wearer of holy chord)
2. Matwali
    I. Namasyane Matwali (Non-enslavable alcohol-drinkers)
    II. Masyane Matwali (Enslavable alcohol drinkers)
3. Pani nachalne choichoto halnu naparne, (Impure but touchable castes)
4. Pani nachalne chiochoti halnu parne, (Impure and Untouchable castes)

The above mentioned categories imply that Thagadhari (Wearer of holy chord) remains in the highest hierarchy in the Nepali caste system followed by Matwali, (Non-enslavable alcohol-drinkers) and enslavable alcohol drinkers touchable caste and lastly untouchable.

The Untouchables

Some untouchable communities in Nepal engaged in making ornaments, weapons, pottery and other labor skills. Those who consider themselves superior among the castes/tribes whose water is defiled are called by different names: Kamis (Iron-smiths), Sunars (Gold-smiths), Lohars (Iron smiths), Vishwakarmas (V.K.), Sobh, Snehi Nepali, etc. They have been named after the professions they are found to be engaged in. For instance, one who is engaged in works related to gold is a Sonar; one who constructs a house or makes pots is an Od; the person who makes things out of copper is a Tamta; on who is engaged in iron-related works is a Lohar, one who is engaged in making utensils from wood is a Chunara; one who constructs good from bamboo is called a Parki; cloth weaver a Koli and Bhool for the person engaged in leather work. During the Rana regime the person deputed to deal with the issues related to this community was referred to as 'Mijhar'. Some people are found to take this title as their surname or sub-

caste. In the western part, goldsmiths are called Mijhar. This community has been found to be distributed all over Nepal.

The community engaged in Sewing Cloth and Playing Local Musical Instruments engaged in sewing cloth are called suchikar or Sujikar. Those who play musical instruments like 'damau' (damaha), drum, hudko, and devbaja are referred to as damai (damahi), dholi, hudke, and nagarchi, Nagdi are regarded as lazy and useless respectively. It was natural to call them by these names in accordance with the types of musical instruments they used to play. The persons employed in sewing are now called darji, tailor, master, or tailor-master. The term darji was restricted to Muslim sewers. Recently, however, it is used for all who are engaged in sewing cloth as well as playing musical instruments. Similarly, damahi has also undergone extension of its meaning. Initially it referred only to those who played a particular type of musical instrument, called damaha but it is now used for the entire caste. It should, in fact, not to be used for the entire or separate caste. Subcastes tally mostly with Aryan castes. Pariyar, Nepali, Darji and other similar surnames have come in vogue recently. In western Nepal, Damai came to be used only lately. As damai is called derogatorily in the east, so is dholi in the west. This community is distributed all over Nepal.

The Community engaged in Leather Profession known as Sarki, Charmkar and Mijhar is less populated in the eastern part of Nepal which is mainly distributed in the Kathmandu valley and the remote western region. There are two levels of Sarkis in western Nepal-with caste and without caste, which is called Bhool. This community treats itself equal to Kami (Vishwakarma) in social rank.

The community engaged in Singing Gypsies, who wander about all parts of Nepal singing songs of historical bravery and gallantry known as Gaine or Gandharwa, these people are also looked upon as untouchables. They also call themselves by the surname Nepali. Though they keep on wandering about different places like Gypsies, they are found to be mainly settled down in some districts of the Western and mid-western regions, namely, Jumla, Kaski (Batulechaur), Syangja, Gorkha, Tanhun, Palpa, Gulmi, Bhairhawa, Surkhet, Dailekh, Jajarkot, Rukum, Pyuthan, Dang and Salyan. They are also found in the Kathmandu valley and Bhojpur in the eastern region. Only a limited number of their surnames sound original. Most of them are like those of

Brahmins, Kshetris, and Kamis, while a few of them have been named after particular places. These surnames are as follows:

Adhikari, Kami, Kala Kaushik, Kala Poudel, Kalichan, Gosai, Jogi, Thakuri, Turki, Bahun, Budhathoki, Baikar/Wagyakar, Baistha (Bistha), Bogate, Bhusal, Bhusalparbate, Maheshwar, Meghnath, Bishwakarma, Bishnupad, Samudri, Sai, Sursaman, Setaparbate, Setichan, Hukchingrana etc.

The Badi Community and Kumal Community engaged in manufacturing clay pottery known as Kumal (Prajapati or Kumhar). Kumals are distributed all over Nepal; they are respectable in all Nepal. There are found ten subcastes of Kumals in eastern Nepal. They equate themselves to Newars in social rank. The Kumals settled in Achham district of Seti zone treat themselves equal to Kshatriyas. They also have marital relation with Kshatriyas here.

The community involved in Laundry Profession are Dhobis, though Dhobis (washer men) in the mountains consider themselves superior to the untouchables, the so-called high-caste people treat them as untouchables. There are two categories of Dhobis in the Terai - Raj Dhobi and Dhobi. Raj Dhobi's water is acceptable while Dhobi's water is unacceptable. In the Kathmandu Valley also, Dhobis are considered untouchable.

The Untouchables in the Terai (Madhesh) are found to be involved in various professions. They include Aghori, Karori, Kichchak, Kisan, Koche, Khatwe, Gandharwa (Muslim), Chamar/Mochi/Harijan, Chidimar, Gudihara, Jhangad (Uraun/Uram), Jhangar (Kachhuwa, Kharawa, Bakala, Bujira, Bekh, Lakada), Doom/Dom/Dhangar, Tatma, Tanti, Toori, Dusadh, Dhuniyan (Muslim), Dhobi, Nat, Pamariya, Paswan, Pasi, Bantar, Bhilla, Bhuiya, Mirshikar, Munda, Mushar (Sada), Rachwar, Sharbhanga, Shai (Muslim), Satar, Santal (Satar), Halkhor etc.

Census of 1991 is the first population Census that initiated to collect data on population by caste and ethnicity in the history of data colleting system and documentation in Nepal[12]. The population Census of 2001 continued to collect data on caste and ethnicities identifying one hundred and one castes and ethnicities[13]. There are altogether eighteen members in the interim legislature- parliament out of three hundred totals. Among the Dalit four are from Madhesi Dalit which is 22.22 percent whereas Madhesi Dalits are in about forty percent out of total population of Dalits. With the

gender point of view, out of total 18 members in the interim parliament 6 are Dalit women which is 33.33 percent. This ratio is some how satisfactory considering to the state commitment with 33 percent reservation to women. It is an achievement of political change of 2006. Coming to interim parliament 2007, altogether 36 personalities have become legislative members in Nepalese history. Out of them only 6 (16.66 percent) are women. Before interim parliament of 2007, none Dalit woman was legislative member. In total 36 legislative members in the history on Nepal 6 are from Madhesi Dalits which is only 16.66 percent. It is under representation compare to population size of Madhesi Dalits. National Dalit Commission (NDC) has listed 22 caste groups as Dalits. Among legislative members are only from 8 caste groups. But out of 8, 2 are not listed in the list of NDC. Among these caste groups constitute Bishwakarma, Pariyar, Sarki, Paswan (Dusadh), Mushar, Chamar, Yogi, Khadki 44.44, 19.44, 11.11, 11.11, 2.77, 2.77, 5.55 and 2.77 percent respectively.

Over View on the Practice of Untouchability in Nepal

Constituting some twenty per cent of the total population in Nepal, the untouchables, popularly known as Dalits, remained exploited for centuries. The Dalit communities have not only been discriminated in the Hindu caste hierarchy but they have also been suppressed by the State. In the Nepalese history, an account of the exploitation of the Dalit communities by the State dates back to the mediaeval period in the 13th century when King Jayasthiti Malla formalized the caste system. Because of the State support to discriminatory practices, the Dalits forfeited their right to education and they were denied of the right to acquire property[14]. They were discouraged from constructing good house and touch persons of higher castes. So much so that certain sections of the Dalits were almost forced to live either in the outskirts of the villages or in the filthy slums.

The discriminatory practices against the Dalits continued abated under the feudal political system for centuries. Unfortunately, Jung Bahadur Rana further formalized the caste system by introducing the Muluki Ain (Civil Code) in 1853. Accordingly, the atrocities against the Dalit caste people were intensified. In the Muluki Ain, the Brahmins, holding highest position in Hindu caste hierarchy, were excluded from capital

punishment[15]; while the other castes of people, including the Dalits were subject to such punishment. It was only in the Muluki Ain of 1963 that discrimination between the Brahmins and other castes in the matter of capital punishment was abolished. It stated that legally every citizen is equal irrespective of caste, creed and sex. But it did not declare the act of untouchability to be punishable[16].

The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal in 1990 declared discrimination on the basis of caste as punishable. Subsequently, a Committee for the Upliftment of the Dalits Upekshit Utpidit Dalitbarg Bikas Samiti under the chairmanship of the Minister of Local Development was established. In addition, the Dalit Committee was formed at the national level in 2002 for the improvement of the conditions of the Dalits. Despite the efforts made by the State to improve the conditions of the Dalits, literacy rate among these people is as low as ten per cent. Among the women, the literacy rate is merely 3.2 per cent. Life expectancy of the Dalits is as low as forty two per cent. Half of the Dalit children are victims of malnutrition. Disease like prolapsed uterus has proved deadly for the women.

Unequal distribution of resources and exploitative relations of production have compelled most of the Dalits to live as paupers, landless and homeless. Most of the people from these castes are ultra poor and below the poverty line. The share of the Dalits in the total cultivable land is one per cent only. The problem of untouchability does not allow them to improve their economic conditions, as many of them are not allowed to sell milk or engage themselves in tea stalls, hotels, restaurants, etc. As a result, their per capita income is almost lowest (US $ 39.6) in the world, as many as eighty per cent of them are forced to live a life below the poverty line[17]. However, studies show that the life of the Dalits in the Terai region of Nepal, including Dom, Dusadh, Musahar, Chamar, Tatma, Khatwe and Dhobi is even more deplorable than the life of the hill Dalits. They are lagging far behind the hill Dalits in education, health and several other sectors. Of the Terai Dalits, the socio-economic conditions of the women are even worse. Virtually, they are Dalits of the Dalits.

The problem of the Dalits is a national problem and not the problem of any specific community. Such problem could be resolved in an integrated manner by focusing on their education, health, income, political participation and other core issues.

Massive awareness and advocacy programmes should be launched to sensitize their problems. Pressure groups need to be formed to see that affirmative action is taken and the anti-discriminatory laws are effectively enforced[18]. The leadership development training should be provided to the different groups of the Dalits, particularly to the girls and women.

Present Situation of Dalits in Nepal

There are three major communities in Nepal's caste-oriented society -Khas, Newar and Maithil. Besides, there is a separate community consisting of tribes. There is found uniformity in the social structure of Khas, Newar and Maithil communities. That is to say, they all have four classes: Brahmin, Chhetri, Vaishya and Shudra. There also exists a distinction between Nepali origin and Indian origin in them, which may also be referred to as Bhumiputra community and Yayavar community, respectively. There also exist Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim and Christian religious communities in Nepal. Of these communities, Khas, Newar and Maithil have been undergoing increasing complexity of caste discrimination and oppression. The issue in the present Nepalese society lies in the classification of Brahmins, Chhetris and Vaishyas into sub-castes, defiling castes and narrowing. From another perspective, Nepalese society is clearly split into touchables and untouchables, have no marital relation with them, and do not allow them to enter their house. In the western part of Nepal, they also practice sprinkling water (act of purification). The low-caste people are deprived of utilizing most of the temples, funeral places, drinking water taps and wells, restaurants, shops and other public places. The tribes of the community, though not within Hindu caste system, also practice untouchability with low-caste people. The practice of untouchability penetrated down to the untouchables. As a result, it went to the extent of making discrimination between touchable and untouchable castes within the untouchable community itself. For instance, Kami and Sarki communities regard other communities like Damai as untouchable, while there does exist inequality even between Kamis and Sarkis. Damais treat communities like Gaines untouchable. Though public places were opened to low caste people in some places, the situation remained unchanged to a large extent. There has been made a legal sanction in the civil code against untouchability; however, it has

turned out to be meaningless since its violation is not liable to any specific penalty. According to Act 11(4) of the new constitution of Nepal (1990), however, untouchability has been made punishable. The civil code has also been amended accordingly. Despite these constitutional and legal provisions, untouchability has been still found in practice. So-called higher caste people do not allow low-caste people to have an access to temples and other public places. Discrimination with respect to caste, colour, and class was strangling human race and turned out to be a slur on humanity.

In 1990 People's Movement restored multi-party democracy in the nation, but there was no representation from low castes in the Constitution Recommendation Commission formed to draft the constitution. This commission consisting of representatives of the King, Nepali Congress and Communists prepared the draft of the constitution with the provision for three seats in the parliament reserved for the oppressed, but it was deleted from the constitution. Instead, it has given Nepal the status of '*a Hindu State*' and encouraged casteism. According to Article 11(4) of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990, *"No person shall be discriminated as untouchable or debarred from attending public places or using things of public utility on the basis of caste. Such an act shall be punishable by law*".[19] Despite it has been added as an illegal provision to practice, discrimination which has been existing traditionally. Innocent Dalits continue to suffer from the atrocities meted out to them by non-Dalits in Nepal.

Conclusion

Since the backwardness of the Dalit communities is the outcome of exploitative socio-economic and political structure of the country, it is the primary duty of the State to pump adequate resources for their development in education, health, economic and employment sectors. Legal literacy programmes launched in various parts of the country to create awareness among them about their rights and duties[20]. All possible efforts should be directed to bring the Dalits in the national mainstream by giving them due representation in the administrative, political and diplomatic assignments[21]. Care should be taken to see that they get due place in the decision-making process in all these sectors. The Government should take immediate action for the enactment of laws and bi-

laws as per the letter and spirit of the Constitution of 1990, with a view to eliminating the caste system and to punish those who indulge in caste discrimination in public places and in the utilization of public services. Derogatory words used for the Dalits in the Muluki Ain need to be removed without any further delay.

In the Nepali context, land is the most important means of production. The State should determine the magnitude of landless among the Dalit people and it should also determine the amount of land under its control. The surplus land should be distributed to the landless Dalits. The stakeholders should take special measures to correct the imbalance and raise the Dalit participation in the governance both at the national and local levels. Also there should be proper recognition and inclusion of the Dalits as a Scheduled Castes in the constitution of Nepal and have certain reservation policies so that they could decrease the level of discrimination and soci-economic and political exclusion rooted since time immemorial for e.g. the Dalit communities in India called Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are doing really good compare to other parts of South Asian countries particularly Nepal, Pakistan and Bangladesh because the framers of the Indian constitution particularly Dr. B.R.Ambedkar included reservation policy for the welfare of these communities and make mandatory to the state to do so, which is not in the case of other South Asian countries.

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